

BLACKS IN MASS MEDIA:
A STUDY OF WORK RELATED STRESS

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN SOCIOLOGY

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA

APRIL, 1988

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ABSTRACT

SOCIOLOGY

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B.A. SPELMAN COLLEGE, 1986

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Thesis dated April 18, 1988

The primary objective of this study is to examine the problem of work related stress among blacks in mass media, specifically, in the metropolitan Atlanta area. Contingency table analyses are used to show the relationship between cognitive dissonance, stress, normative influences and worker satisfaction. A series of structured interviews are used to support and heighten the survey data.

The data show a relationship between job position and worker satisfaction as well as stress. Those individuals in high prestige occupations experience less stress and more satisfactions than individuals in less prestigious occupations. The results of the study also suggest that job satisfaction, education and experience explain little of the variance.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Power concedes nothing without demand. It never has, it never will, thus the struggle, the stress, the coping. . . .

-Frederick Douglass

There were many people who kept my momentum going through the highs and lows of this study. I would like to give special thanks to them now. First of all I thank my parents, Thomas and Anna Grant, who have always been the source of my strength and inspiration. Special thanks go to my sister, Kimberley Grant and her fiancé Elvis Williams, who gave me many cups of coffee on those late nights to fuel "midnight oil"; to Dr. Obie Clayton who pushed me to my potential and kept me going when I wanted to quit; to Dr. Sandra Taylor and Dr. Paula Dressel, of my committee, who "lent listening ears," and gave me helpful suggestions; to my departmental chairperson, Dr. Wilbur Watson and the Atlanta University Sociology staff who kept the faith; to Mrs. Steen Miles, my mentor and supervisor who gave me the courage to take on this project; to the WXIA News team who gave me moral support and allowed me the time off to complete my studies; to my friends Angela Wimes and Leah Constantine, who helped me build a mutual support system and Kevin Johnson, who taught me the meaning of patience; and to God, who gave me the strength to complete this project. I thank "you all!"

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CHAPTER 1

BLACKS IN MASS MEDIA: A STUDY OF WORK RELATED STRESS

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Prior to the 1980's, black journalists were limited primarily to roles in black media. Not only were blacks excluded from full participation in the print media, but they were also systematically discriminated against in the electronic media. The inclusion of blacks in mainstream positions was nearly non-existent. In 1962, Mal Goode became the first national network correspondent serving as an American Broadcast Company (ABC) reporter assigned to the United Nations. Because Goode was the first black to break the "color barrier," coupled with his extensive coverage of the Cuban Missile Crisis, Goode was notably referred to as the "voice behind the Cuban Missile Crisis" by his colleagues. Mal Goode's entry into the national media sparked the beginning of blacks in mainstream mass media. However, today, in 1988, blacks still remain relatively invisible.

Coupled with Goode's success and the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 the course journalism for many blacks and other minorities has changed (United States

Statues at Large, 1965, vol. 78, p. 252). This act which was introduced in the late sixties, dealt with the hiring practices of all corporations including media facilities. Moreover, in 1969, The Federal Communication Commission (FCC) required all applicants to file affirmative action and equal opportunity programming reports (Zuckman and Gaynes, 1983). The FCC has not required broadcast facilities to hire minorities in numbers proportionate to the community they serve. However, the FCC does use a "reasonableness" test which argues that minorities and women should be represented in media facilities (Stone V. Federal Communication Commission) (Zuckman and Gaynes, 1983). The National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ) argues that the visibility of blacks and other minorities has increased only nominally. Concurring with this statement, Dorothy Gilliam of The Washington Post, said

Just as minorities have made progress on baseball's diamonds as players, they have also shown gains as reporters, columnists, editors and television anchor persons. But, when it comes to positions of managerial responsibility, minorities failed to find similar success in either industry (Ellis, 1987:1-2).

Is it probable that this lack of advancement and promotion is mainly the result of past and present racial injustices?

It has been argued that over the years the reason many black journalists do not move ahead is due to racial

stereotyping. In American society as a whole, blacks have been vicariously assessed as being lazy and inarticulate. The racial stereotypes associated with blacks in America have rested in large measure in the beliefs developed and kept in the minds of the minority white population, that being black means being naturally inferior. Katz and Braly (1933) examined the perceptions of college students regarding ethnic stereotyping. They found that most students considered blacks to be superstitious, lazy, happy-go-lucky, ignorant and musical. The study was repeated in 1951 and again in 1967 with the associated stereotypes remaining intact. The five traits most frequently assigned to Negroes in the years 1933, 1951 and 1967 are as follows:

- 1933: superstitious, lazy, happy-go-lucky, ignorant, musical;
- 1951: superstitious, musical, lazy, ignorant, pleasure-loving;
- 1967: musical, happy-go-lucky, lazy, pleasure-loving, ostentatious.

From the beginning the media have excluded blacks, while making sharp distinctions between black and white experiences. Rather than trying to eliminate ethnic stereotypes, the media, as a whole, have promoted them. For example, when blacks commit crimes the media tend to sensationalize it, while downplaying those acts committed

by whites, thus creating the impression that crime is more prevalent among blacks. By the same token, many black journalists argue that their employers have stereotypically labeled them as incompetent and inarticulate, especially when it comes to anything other than coverage of the black community or other minority issues. This labeling has prompted Chief Executive Officers (CEO's) and Managers to place blame for drops in viewership and readership, as well as the reduction of advertising revenues on black reporters and their inability to articulate their ideas. However, many blacks have disproved these negative stereotypes. Furthermore, national network correspondent Carole Simpson was quoted as saying "We are a multicultural, racially diverse society. . . (and) . . . it is wrong that what is presented to the public is filtered ultimately through. . . white eyes" (Ellis, 1987:5).

Black, Hispanic, Asian and other minorities comprise nearly 30 percent of the United States population. However, they account for less than 3 percent of the nation's newspapers' top management and less than 9.3 percent of the officers and managers of broadcasting companies (Ellis, 1987:3). In the words of Ernie Schultz (1987), president of the Radio-Television News Directors Association (RTNDA),

"In the average market, attracting the minority audience is the edge in that market" (Ellis, 1987:3). Thus, in order to attract this market, one must have an adequate number of minority consumers to afford coverage.

In an effort for broadcasting and newspaper facilities to attract a top market and despite the plethora of problems confronting black journalists, many blacks and other minorities have managed to enter the mainstream mass media. However, the journalists who work in predominantly white environments often admit that they experience a great degree of cognitive dissonance brought on by normative influences. These are produced by working in a predominantly white male environment. For example, in order to reap the rewards in the corporate media structure, many black journalists are forced to overtly conform to white male professional standards, while covertly remaining true to their heritage by socializing and living in predominantly black environments. These separate worlds create feelings of dissonance, frustration and inadequacy. The end result is a personal struggle with the self and the corporate institution. This study is an attempt to address the problem of work-related stress and frustration, among black media personnel in metropolitan Atlanta print and broadcast media.

LITERATURE REVIEW

An Overview of Worker Alienation

Work is an integral and nearly universal part of human existence. Consequently, it has been the subject of much thought and many studies. The extensive research on work has focused on such topics as worker satisfaction, productivity, income, and alienation, among other subjects. In the late 1800's, Karl Marx argued that because work is done for the purpose of monetary gratification rather than for personal satisfaction, it can lead to alienation (Pinkney, 1984:43). Alienation is brought about because the commodification of labor emphasizes the lack of control which people have over their labor and the products of their labor. He also argued that reciprocity of benefits is universal and is a central principle of social life. Marx believed that because employers and employees have a different share of the value of their investment, employers receive more than their fair share of economic return thus exploiting their workers (Pinkney, 1984:43). This exploitation is viewed as being contributory to alienation.

With the exception of Marx and other conflict theorists, interest in work and its effect upon worker satisfaction went unexamined. However, in the early 1980's, Elton Mayo revived interest in this area with his

pioneering work on productivity, efficiency, leadership and morale (Miller and Form, 1980). The majority of Mayo's work centered on scientific management. However, he did examine the area of job satisfaction and alienation to a limited degree. Mayo (1945) suggested that employees who are satisfied with their jobs are more productive than dissatisfied employees. Even though his major area of concern was productivity, he used job satisfaction as an explanatory variable. This was a major breakthrough and subsequent research began to take the individual worker into consideration.

Worker Satisfaction and Alienation

Although Marx and Mayo are considered to be polar opposites, they shared one common theme: interest in worker satisfaction. Work has always played an integral part in human morale (Argyris, 1964). With the recent focus on worker satisfaction and worker productivity, the area of Sociology of Work has begun to grow in importance. Staines (1980) stated that the focus in the Sociology of Work is that of how work experiences affect other aspects of human behavior, including how work shapes individual personalities. Some researchers believe that a vast majority of the working population spend an excess amount of time at work. Miller and Form (1980) argue that the

United States is referred to as an "employee society." Work has been and remains a central interest in our lives and individuals, especially males, are expected to prepare for a work life. Nevertheless, some persons who spend an inordinate amount of time working tend to be highly stressed and often do not gain intense satisfaction from their work experiences (Miller and Form, 1980). Morse (1953) found that the morale of employees diminishes because of feelings of being overworked and underpaid. Fatigue and boredom have been found to emanate from the routine generally associated with white collar jobs (Sears, 1984:11). Therefore, researchers conclude that employee morale and productivity should be at the center of a worker's well being. These three variables are the focus of success for the employer. Essentially, employers and employees share these concerns.

In relation to work related stress, one of the primary findings of morale research is the effect occupation has on employee's attitudes. This is a crucial area because occupation determines what is expected of employees. The persons they work with, the equipment and skills required, the amount of pay and the physical environment are all involved in worker satisfaction and productivity. Bass (1980), Moore and Burns (1956) Morse (1953) Benge (1944) all concluded that employee's attitudes

reflect the job itself. When persons are content in their work environment this is reflected in their attitudes.

In an attempt to address this issue, Argyris in 1973, argued that people conform to work conditions and experiences, and the amount of time spent in a work situation can affect one's behavior in a positive or negative way, depending upon the level of worker satisfaction. Argyris also found that worker satisfaction is sometimes influenced by the individual's hobbies. If a worker enjoys his work, it is reflected in his hobbies. Along the same lines, Dubin (1956) found that some workers look for fulfillment outside the work arena. The "compensatory hypothesis" developed by Dubin in 1956 suggests that if workers are not satisfied in their work environment, they seek other means of pleasure in their spare time. Work, then, does not necessarily have a tremendous impact on behavior, if they have other means of finding pleasure and fulfillment outside the work environment.

In 1960, J. L. Wilensky, developed the "spillover hypothesis" which suggested that alienation in the work place carries over to personal alienation outside the work place and affects other areas of human interaction. It can be said that the degree of worker satisfaction is related to the degree of alienation in work. This analysis is

related to Marx's alienation theory in that Marx assumed that workers want to be in control of their product as well as their productivity in order to be satisfied (Pinkney, 1984:43). As described by Marx, in society, we find the exploited and the exploiters. The former (proletarians) make up the working class and the latter (bourgeoisie) are the owners. Robert Staples and Robert Blauner argue that Marx does not deal with racism as a major facilitator in class struggles (Pinkney, 1984:46). Considering present day struggles with class and racism in the corporate institution, Festinger (1957) argued that "The existence of disagreement among members of a group on some issue or opinion, if perceived by the members, certainly produces cognitive dissonance." Briefly, cognitive dissonance can be described as a voluntary advocacy of a belief that is opposite of one's integral beliefs (Berkovitz, 1972:15). Identical dissonance in a large number of people may be created when an event occurs which is so compelling as to produce a uniform reaction (Festinger, 1957:262).

Current research shows that there is considerable evidence that under certain conditions a person's overt behavior is influenced by his attitude towards work (Reagan and Fazio, 1984:62). In situations such as these, people tend to accept their assigned roles by being docile, servile and adhering to the rules (Marden and Meyer,

1978:126). This type of behavior is considered to be role playing in an effort to be accepted and to maneuver smoothly through the system. Marden and Meyer (1978) also argue that in an effort to adjust to these frustrations, some workers respond in a deviant manner. For example (1) intragroup aggression and (2) rebellion are common responses to work-related frustration. The former creates tension among group members. In response they fight among themselves. Rebellion characterized by workers' attacking the discriminators and their system occurs as a response to systematic discrimination.

In an effort to understand how the work experience shapes human behavior, it is imperative to examine those social psychological studies that deal with work and behavioral relationships and the function of these relationships in determining worker satisfaction (Champoux, 1980; Quinne and Staines, 1979; Blauner, 1966). Blauner's (1966) analysis of worker satisfaction identified occupational prestige as the key to satisfaction in the work place. Occupational prestige includes several components: (1) educational requirements (2) experience and (3) compensation. According to Blauner (1966), workers in high prestige occupations tend to enjoy their work more than individuals in lower prestige positions. Further, the possibility of job or career advancement is a critical

determinant of worker morale. Implicit in the work of Blauner and others (Staines, 1979; Champoux, 1980) is the notion that employee morale and worker satisfaction are intrinsically tied to the environment of the work place.

In describing the environment these researchers have omitted one critical variable and that is race. Staples (1976) says it is difficult to foresee a unity of black and white workers when racist attitudes are most strongly ingrained and expressed in the working class stratum of American society.

In sharp contrast to Staples (1976), Staines (1979), and Champoux (1980), some researchers found monetary compensation to be the primary source of job satisfaction. Levitan, Johnson and Taggart (1975) argued that profit is a direct source of income, and work is a primary function for most people. Job satisfaction affects our overall welfare, while occupational positions and profits are important factors in determining individual status and prestige. Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) found that "Behavior in organizations is adaptive. What people do, how they come to feel and behave reflects what they can make of their situation. People who are in positions of power and those who have more control over their work, tend to be more satisfied." Following this line of thought, Argyris (1964) insists that alienation and low morale are the result of

management's reward and punishment system. Management tends to commend the obedient as opposed to those who are risk-takers (Argyris, 1964).

The key concept in the dissonance theory, as it relates to work, is that of choice. Choice is a significant factor in determining the degree to which one feels justified in accommodating behavior. Festinger (1957) outlined three major ways in which dissonance is created: (1) a perceived choice between alternatives (2) induction (3) exposure to information. Festinger and Carlsmith (1959) found that the more compensation a person receives for behavior, the less likely they are to adopt contradictory views. Dissonance exists after an attempt has been made, by offering rewards or threatening punishment, to elicit overt behavior that is at variance with private opinion (Festinger, 1957:261). Learning theorists argue that positive and negative reinforcers applied appropriately accelerate the desired learned behavior (Sears, 1984:81).

As indicated by normative influences, the person acts in a manner that is different from the position he internally holds. Mayo (1933) found that instability and insecurity among group members disturb the normative structure. Group members become alienated in an environment that seems cold and impersonal (Mayo, 1933).

Therefore, their normative influences guide their behavior.

In support of this position, Gerard (1965) found that persons who are committed to group conformity experience less dissonance than those who are not. People tend to be more committed to their work when there are greater opportunities for advancement (Kanter, 1977:143). When persons experience a high-ability condition, conformers experience dissonance because they expect a certain amount of independence and the commitment to conformity arouses dissonance. Whereas, persons who experience a low-ability condition do not expect group similarities or group differences. These individuals experience no conflict between their thoughts and their actions because they have placed no expectations on the group, therefore, no dissonance occurs.

Tokenism in Employment

Tokenism is a term which emerged in the 1960's during the desegregation era. The concept details the acceptance of blacks in white institutions only for the appearance of compliance with government regulations. Token concession as described by Marden and Meyer (1976) is the apparent achievement of full equality between blacks and whites for the purpose of decreasing or eliminating interracial problems. The display of tokenism most often

comes from those in authoritative positions. Businesses and unions usually make concessions by hiring a few blacks to avoid problems.

Kanter (1977) found that the uniform scarcity of tokens is generally associated with three factors: (1) visibility, (2) assimilation and (3) contrast. Because tokens are represented in smaller numbers in comparison to the overall group, they tend to be more visible. This visibility causes a contrast between the token and the dominant group. Because the majority group is more aware of the token's differences, they tend to lock the token out. Assimilation allows the token to accept any pre-existing stereotypes, simply because it is easier to conform than to deviate from group expectations (Kanter, 1977:210-211).

The possibility of the token as a "threat" can be perceived in two ways. First is the challenge of the majority's reasoning. This occurs through confrontation on behalf of the token by a dominant who views the way of the world for what it is and the possibility of alternatives. Second, the presence of tokens creates a self-consciousness for people who would much rather work in a casual and complaisant way (Kanter, 1977:222). The antithesis of tokens results in an amplification by the dominant of the likenesses and differences of the tokens. Even when the similarities and differences are detailed, the dominant

group still interacts with the tokens. However, that interaction tends to be sheltered by the fact that the tokens are placed into sheltered roles (Kanter, 1977:223). Tokens tend to accept the associated stereotypes because of the low risk factors involved.

Tokenism is reinforced by keeping the group involved differences of opinion, especially when external pressures are not available. Kanter (1977) found that the token position contains a number of dilemmas and contradictions:

1. Tokens are concurrently representatives and exceptions. They are considered symbols for their group, especially when they "mess up," At the same time they are seen as unique examples, when they "shine".
2. They are made aware of their differences by their dominants. At the same time, they must act as if the differences do not exist, or that they have no overtones.
3. In the work arena, tokens are the most visible people. Yet, they are the least likely to be observed behind the scenes.
4. Tokens are typical entities in the organization that stand apart from others in their peer groups. At the same time they lose their individuality because of their stereotypical roles and their supervised public personage.
5. Tokens tend to be less relaxed in situations outside of the work arena because of their lack of knowledge concerning their roles. However, they sometimes tend to be relaxed in the work arena when their roles are well-defined.
6. Tokens are quite often alone. At the same time, the interaction surrounding them causes them to advance by disassociating themselves from the larger groups or from segmented groups.

7. As long as the number of tokens in an organization remains low, the personal crisis involving the tokens will be seen by the organization as a hinderance to the company's purpose. However, sometimes crises are alleviated by proportional juxtaposition of numbers. (Adapted from Kanter, Men and Women of the Corporation, 977:239).

The uncertainties surrounding tokens are considered burdens and these burdens take their toll in psychological stress even if they succeed in work performance. Kanter (1977) argues that "Even the best coping strategy is likely to have some internal reprecussions, ranging from inhibition of self-expression to feelings of inadequacy and perhaps self-hatred" (Kanter, 1977:234). Inconsistent statuses experience psychosocial difficulties such as poor social relationships, unstable self images and frustration from dealing with contradictory demands from themselves and others. They also develop strong tendencies of insecurity (Kanter, et. al., 1977:239). One can conclude that tokens tend to experience a great deal of psychological pressure from their assigned roles. Whereas, blacks who work in predominantly black corporations tend to experience less psychological pressure, because their work experiences dictate their coping strategies.

Organizations and Minorities: The Media

In the media, the pattern of resistance to blacks is similar in certain respects to the pattern of resistance to

women as status equals. Personnel officers rarely admit that prejudice prevents them from employing blacks in upper-level jobs. They insist that blacks do not have the required skills; that they are not motivated to quality performance and that they are unreliable workers. On the contrary, Sears (1984) found that in order for productivity and consequences to be positive, managers must observe worker productivity on a regular basis and distribute the rewards and sanctions as necessary. When this is not done, workers may develop poor work habits.

A 1978 longitudinal survey conducted by Louis Harris and Associates found significant differences among blacks and whites and their perceptions of organizations and agencies supportive of blacks. Of those surveyed, only 43 percent of the blacks felt that the television industry is interested in seeing blacks gain full equality. In sharp contrast, 74 percent of their white counterparts felt that the television industry is interested in full equality for blacks. Only 29 percent of the blacks felt newspapers were interested in their "plight," while 55 percent of the whites viewed newspapers as having a sharp interest in full equality for blacks. In contrast, Hardin and Hogrefe (1952) found that there were no protests and no rash of persons leaving their jobs when black co-workers were introduced. They argued that white employers showed little

or no differences in their behavior toward black and white fellow workers, when management set clear standards of behavior (Hardin and Hogrefe, 1952:18-26).

In 1985, "The Quiet Crisis: Minority Journalists and Newsroom Opportunity" reported widespread frustration among highly experienced black journalists. Although, the media have hired blacks and other minorities in recent years, many have left the field or are in the process of leaving the field. Pluria Marshall, president of the National Black Media Coalition argues that the Radio-Television News Directors Association is the culprit for the steady decline of blacks in the media. He claims that the association has not instituted any policies that encourage minority growth at their respective stations, especially among black men (Aversa, 1987). According to Mal Goode (1987), coverage of minority issues should be initiated by intelligent, qualified minority reporters familiar with black culture and the community they serve (Simons, 1987:5).

Because of the rising minority population in the United States, viewing audiences are moving from predominantly white audiences to an increasingly larger minority audiences. A. C. Nielson predicts that by 1990, blacks who now represent 9 percent of the network viewership, will account for more than 20 percent of all

network viewing, significantly impacting all television advertising and programming (Ellis, 1987:5). Subsequently, we should see a steady increase in the importance and the activity of the black visual media.

The black media has crossed major milestones in an effort to contribute to the history and development of mass media. Since its beginning, the black media have served to enlighten the world to years of existing prejudices in the white population, to create a positive image among black consumers and to generally inform and entertain the larger public.

There have been many theories to justify the lack of black representation in management and production. However, the most frequent one given the lack of financial support, including public backing. John Robert E. Lee, president of the National Association of Black Owned Broadcasters, states "Our ability to secure financing is the biggest obstacle. . . . We can't do anything unless we have the money" (Baker, 1986:41). Many black owners argue that they are forced to provide large sums of money for their operations. The Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Companies, a major lending facility to black broadcasters, agrees that they do require a hefty amount of money to "ensure the buyers' commitment to operating profitable broadcast facilities" (Baker, 1986:41).

The National Association of Broadcasters Department of Minority and Special Services reported that out of the 9,573 commercial broadcast stations, only 146 are owned by blacks; 19 are television stations and 127 are radio stations (Baker, 1986:41). According to Dollars and Sense magazine, the majority of the black owned television stations are ultra high frequency (UHF) while their white counterparts are highly visible at very high frequency (VHF) network facilities (Baker, 1986:41). One can conclude that the disproportionate number of black owned UHF facilities is partially due to the fact that it is less expensive to own and operate such facilities.

The stereotypes associated with black journalists and black owned media facilities are discouraging. The assumption that stereotyping creates normative influences which can create dissonance is a conjecture that accounts for the facts presented in the literature. Nevertheless, the literature demonstrates high levels of worker dissatisfaction among blacks in media corporate structures. These high levels often stem from the fact that blacks are often accepted into organizations only as tokens. Along with this label, many blacks must face the associated stereotypes. Because of these factors, blacks find that they are usually the last to be promoted and the first to

be fired. However, some blacks manage to overcome these barriers only to be locked out of the interaction that is associated with higher promotions. The literature also indicates that blacks in the mass media experience high levels of stress and frustration associated with their level of dissatisfaction and the alienation they feel in the work setting. The result is a struggle with the self and the corporate institution.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Leon Festinger, in 1957, developed what is known as the dissonance theory. This theory focuses on the dynamics of relationships and places a certain amount of emphasis on the components of a given social structure (Katz and Kahn, 1966:3). The logic behind the cognitive dissonance theory, suggests that if a person is committed to a belief that is not constant with his other views, the person becomes less motivated to alter the inconsistency by changing his views (Berkovitz, 1972:13).

In order to understand this concept more clearly, one must examine cognitive dissonance and its relationship to work related stress. Festinger (1957) argued that when a person acts in a manner that is in conflict with the values he holds, he becomes bothered by the inconsistency and that creates cognitive dissonance. In relationship to work, he maintains that cognitive dissonance occurs when a person's attitude changes during role playing (Festinger, 1957:205).

Dissonance and change of attitude vary with the degree of motivation, for taking a stand that is different

from one's own cognition (Cohen, 1962; Carlsmith, Collins and Helmreich, 1966). The cognitive theorist, Piaget, suggests that people's thoughts and interpretations have a strong influence on their actions and ideas. This process occurs through adaptation, which details two responses (1) assimilation and (2) accommodation. The former refers to the appropriation of new experiences. The latter refers to response adjustments in an effort to meet new challenges. Accommodation generally leads to dissonance. Accommodations occurs when a person's actions are not in conformity with his beliefs and he feels compelled to alter his behavior, but not his beliefs. When that same person is supportive of a belief which is opposite to the belief he holds, he becomes bothered by the contradiction of the action (Festinger, 1957:7). The end result is that a person may alter his internal belief because of what he learns from the external action. It is then that he feels more dissonance.

Festinger and Carlsmith (1959) found that rewards and punishments can also alter one's cognitions. Meyer (1975) found that dissonance occurs when employees feel threatened, especially when they do not get expected pay increases. Managers use such techniques in an effort to improve worker productivity. Berkovitz (1972) found that the more compensation people receive the less likely

workers were to adopt opposing views. In essence, one may adopt contradictory views in an effort to get more compensation.

Several theoretical orientations suggest that attitude and behavioral changes occur because of cognitive discrepancies. Zimbardo and Ebbesen (1969) found that dissimilarities exist in what is looked upon as dissonant and what specific factors produce certain outcomes. When dissonance occurs, the level of motivation to reduce or eliminate the inconsistency determines the behavioral result (Williams, 1977:186). Concurringly, Rokeach (1973) found that attitudes and behaviors change when people are led to act in certain ways that are inconsistent with one's values. Once again, in the corporate structure, one experiences dissonance when one is expected to act in a manner that is not consistent with one's internal beliefs.

Evidence suggests that the perceived discrepancy between set-goals and reality produces an effect and, ultimately, a behavioral or mental response (Westen, 1985:36). In 1975, Wicklund developed what is known as the "self-awareness theory." This theory proposes that self attention makes the inconsistency between one's current behavior and behavior standards more significant. The result is an aversive affective state that can in turn lead to altered behavior (Westen, 1985:37). In agreement,

Kanfer (1980) found that self-monitoring is a forerunner of the recognition of inconsistencies between values and behavior. This concept is referred to as the model of self-regulation.

In relationship to performance, Bandura (1982) documented the comparative relationship between goals, conditions, emotion, and response. He found that individuals who had set standards and received information about their performance level experienced some inconsistencies. The end result was a state of tension, as well as a state of raised consciousness regarding performance. Bandura (1982) argued that the inconsistency between values and performance can be motivating, only if the individual feels capable of maintaining his values. Robert Merton (1968), identified a process called "anticipatory socialization" in which people who have positive attitudes usually incur positive promotions, and compare themselves to those at the top (Kanter, 1977:147). Neither of these studies addresses the issue of what a person does if he cannot maintain his values.

The foregoing theories suggest that workers come to their jobs with different sets of expectations and each set of expectations sets the stage for different experiences regarding stress and satisfaction. Elsewhere, We have noted at least two paths to high stress and dissatisfaction

in the work place: (1) workers who experience high levels of cognitive dissonance are less likely to exhibit high morale and (2) individuals who compromise their personal value system for the sake of a job will exhibit high levels of stress and dissatisfaction.

Kanter (1977) argues that tokens in the work place experience an entirely different set of working conditions than the majority workers. She writes about these dynamics: performance pressures, boundary heightening and role encapsulation; each is applicable to the analysis of blacks in the media. Performance pressures refer to standing out and, therefore, to being watched more carefully. If performance is poor, it is generalized to all others in one's category; if performance is good, that person is thought to be the exception, thereby enabling racist/sexist stereotypes to persist.

Boundary heightening refers to being reminded of one's differences by majority group members, usually in very subtle fashions. For example, boundary heightening occurs when majority group members tell ethnic jokes to see if you will laugh in testing your loyalty to your group. Also, boundary heightening can occur when majority group members congregate where minorities are obviously excluded, i.e., private clubs, etc. Finally, Kanter talks about role encapsulation, or pigeon-holing people into stereotypical

expectations and roles.

This research is designed to see if blacks, a visible minority in the media, experience any of the problems which Kanter and others attribute to minorities in organizations. Further, the current research will seek to explain how blacks in the media cope with their work or, if any, coping strategies have been developed by these media personnel. To address these issues, the research will compare employees in black organizations to those in predominantly white ones. Based upon the research literature, we argue that blacks who work in predominantly black media facilities tend to experience less frustration than those who work in predominantly white settings because of their anticipatory socialization process in the work environment, which grows out of their work experiences. Anticipatory socialization is the process of role playing in an effort to develop and enhance one's self conception and identity.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

This study of work related stress will focus on those conditions in the work place which can lead to stress among minority workers in predominantly white work environments. The research hypothesizes that dissonance occurs when such an employee is in conflict with normative influences. This study will demonstrate the rejection and acceptance that tokens encounter which affect their dissonance and stress levels. The more rejection that tokens endure the more dissonance they feel.

Data Sources

The data used in this study will be obtained from interviews conducted with black media personnel in the metropolitan Atlanta area, inclusive of print and broadcast media. A sample of 50 respondents will be interviewed. The data will reflect diversity since the sample will be selected from predominantly white media institutions as well as predominantly black ones. A total of 50 questionnaires were given to metro area media personnel. This figure represents 37 percent of the total black media

personnel in Atlanta, which is 7 percentage points less than the national average. To make the preceding point more salient, the total workforce of the institutions sampled was 6,505 persons, of this figure, 2,465 were black. Moreover, the vast majority of the black labor force in this sample was located in one facility: The Atlanta Journal Constitution, which employed 2,344 blacks.

The Sample

The sampling design entails the selection of local newspaper, radio and television facilities. Blacks in these facilities will be randomly selected. A weighted stratified sample will be employed, given the paucity of blacks in the white media. Therefore, blacks in the white media will be over-sampled to give us an adequate number. The sample will consist of individuals in a number of media positions. Specifically, both on-air and support personnel will be included in the analyses.

Hypotheses

H:1 Personnel in on-air and other higher prestige positions will experience greater job satisfaction than individuals in support positions.

As indicated in the literature, Blauner (1966) found that occupational prestige and worker satisfaction are directly related.

H:2 Personnel in behind-the-scenes and support positions will experience more work related stress than those in on-air and other higher prestige positions.

In relation to work related stress, the literature suggest that employee morale and stress are interrelated and these two factors determine one's level of stress and job satisfaction (Bass, 1960; Moore and Burns, 1956; Morse; 1953 and Benge, 1944).

H:3 Behind-the-scene and support personnel will experience more cognitive dissonance than those who are on-air and other higher prestige positions.

As indicated in the literature, identical dissonance in a large number of people may be created when an event occurs which is so compelling as to produce a uniform reaction (Festinger, 1957:262).

H:4 On-air personalities and persons in other higher prestige positions will experience more normative influences than those in behind-the-scene and support positions.

As indicated in the literature, Mayo (1933) found that normative influences occur as response adjustments to feelings of inadequacy and alienation.

Operationalization and Definition of Key Terms and Concepts

In this research, we utilize the term cognitive dissonance to encompass all expressed attitudes which are not consistent with the respondents' set of internal values. Similarly, the term normative influences will refer to respondents who translate the aforementioned attitudes into overt behaviors that are not consistent with their expressed views. According to Piaget (1900) normative influences occur when a worker is forced to conform with the standards of an occupation. As stated earlier, Mayo (1933), suggests that when there is instability and insecurity in a group, their normative structure is affected. The end result is actions that are not consistent with one's beliefs. In order to measure these "abstract" concepts the questionnaire contains several Likert-like questions which are designed to gauge both dissonance and normative influences.

Cognitive Dissonance: This concept is measured in the following fashion: The survey tool contains several questions which are used as indicators of dissonance:

- A. Changed personal habits to satisfy management
 - 1. yes
 - 2. no
- B. Compromising values to satisfy employer
 - 1. yes
 - 2. no

D. Is your job satisfying?

1. no 2. yes

The scores for each individual will be summed and scaled in the manner specified above. Specifically, if an individual has a score of 6 or higher, that person will be classified as not experiencing stress. Conversely, if an individual answers no (2) to three or more questions, we can assume that the person is stressed.

Normative Influences: This concept is measured in the following fashion. The survey tool contains several questions which are used as indicators of normative influences.

A. Do you experience isolation at work?

1. yes 2. no

B. Is your working environment a comfortable one?

1. no 2. yes

C. Does the environment at work affect your personal behavior?

1. yes 2. no

D. Do your co-workers help relieve isolation at work?

1. no 2. yes

The scores for each individual will be scored and scaled. Specifically, if an individual has a score of 6 or higher, that person will be classified as not being normatively influenced. Conversely, if an individual answers yes (1)

to three or more questions, we can assume that the person is normatively influenced.

Other explanatory variables utilized in the analysis include the following: (1) years employed in the media, (1 through 5 = 1) (6 through 10 = 2) (11 through highest = 3) (2) current position (anchors, reporters and writers/columnists = 1) (photographers, production staff, engineering staff, community affairs administrators and public relations staff = 2) (3) education (high school = 1, 1 through 4 years of college = 2) (5 years or more = 3). At this juncture, we should note that the anchors, reporters, and writers/columnists are viewed as being in highly prestigious positions. These positions were grouped together in order to produce a large enough category for comparative analysis.

Method of Analysis

The primary method of analysis in this study will be contingency table analysis. The contingency table analysis will be used to show the relationship between cognitive dissonance, stress and normative influences. Contingency table analysis will allow us to the relationship between the dependent variables and the various explanatory variables. The chi-square statistics will be used to measure the relationship between the variable. In

addition, a series of structured interviews will be conducted to supplement the survey data. A copy of the survey instrument and structured interview may be found in Appendices C and D.

Limitations

One major problem surfaced early in the preliminary analyses and that problem revolved around an extremely low response rate from blacks in predominantly black facilities. Only four blacks from these institutions completed the survey after several follow-up calls. This extremely low response did not allow for any comparative analysis based on racial composition of the facilities.

CHAPTER 4

DESCRIPTIVE FINDINGS

Demographic Characteristics of Sample

"Blacks in Mass Media: A Study of Work Related Stress," was conducted in metropolitan Atlanta, Georgia. A total of fifty journalists from print and broadcast media was interviewed. The respondents consisted of anchors, reporters, assignment editors, writers/columnists, photographers, engineering staff, production staff, community affairs administrators and public relations staff.

The findings reveal that of those interviewed, 58.6 percent were at least 30 years of age or older. The data showed that 5.7 percent of the respondents had never attended college, 71.6 percent had completed at least one year of college and 22.7 percent had completed at least one year of graduate study. Twenty-three percent of those interviewed, were in on-air positions, while the remaining 77.4 percent were behind-the-scenes, support personnel. Forty-four percent of the sample had been in their field for a minimum of 11 years. Sixty-four percent of the sample was female and 36 percent male.

Worker Satisfaction

When questioned regarding job satisfaction, 64.2 percent of the respondents reported that they were satisfied with their present occupation. However, 60 percent had considered leaving the field of journalism for various reasons. The primary reason given for wanting to leave journalism centered on racial discrimination. Forty-seven percent of the sample felt they were locked into their positions because of their racial identity.

As identified in the literature, factors associated with job satisfaction include number of years in the field, (Aversa, 1987), position in the occupation (Levitan, Johnson and Taggart, 1975) and education (Blauner, 1966). This study revealed that the number of years in the occupation was not significantly related to worker satisfaction ($\chi^2 = 90$, d. f. = 2, $p = .05$). Only 32 percent of the respondents reported dissatisfaction with their current work. The data in Table 1 illustrate (see Appendix A, Table 1) that worker satisfaction is not significantly related to number of years in the occupation.

Again, in viewing the relationship between worker satisfaction and position in the media, no statistically significant relationship was found ($\chi^2 = 1.7$, d. f. = 1, $p = .15$). However, the data as illustrated in Table 2 (see Appendix A, Table 2) are in the expected direction

with on air personalities and writers/columnists reporting the highest level of job satisfaction. Specifically, 5 percent stated that they were dissatisfied. Conversely, 32 percent of the support staff stated dissatisfaction with their position.

In viewing the relationship between worker satisfaction and education, no statistically significant relationship was found ($\chi^2 = 2.06$, d. f. = 2, $p = .35$). However, the data illustrated in Table 3 (see Appendix A, Table 3) are in the expected direction with college educated respondents reporting the highest level of job satisfaction. For example, 68.4 percent of the college graduates stated that they were satisfied with their work.

Work Related Stress

The data discussed in Tables 1 through 3 were all related to worker satisfaction. One of the major goals of the current research was to gauge the relationship between work, cognitive dissonance, normative influences and worker stress. Each of these concepts has been shown to be related to worker satisfaction. Tables 4 through 6 present the data associated with each of the preceding dependent variables (see Appendix A, Tables 4-6).

In looking at the relationship between stress and number of years worked in the media, no statistically

significant relationship was found, as the data in Table 4 illustrates (see Appendix A, Table 4) (chi-square = 1.4, d. f. = 2, $p = .49$). These data suggest that there is no significant difference in stress levels of those who have worked 11 years or more than their less experienced colleagues. Specifically, 50 percent of those with 11 years or more media experience stated that they had experienced stress and an equal percentage (50%) stated that they had not experienced any work related stress. Based upon this finding, it can be concluded that experience has little influence on stress, for this sample.

As indicated in Table 5 (see Appendix A, Table 5) the relationship between stress and job-position is statistically insignificant (chi-square = 1.2, d. f. = 1, $p = .27$). The data again are in the expected direction with on-air personalities, writers/columnists and editors reporting the highest level of stress. Fifty-four percent of the writers/columnists reported experiencing stress, as compared to, forty-six percent of the support staff. This finding suggests that on-air personalities are in the most stress filled positions.

In analyzing the relationship between worker stress and education, no statistically significant relationship was found. As indicated in Table 6 (see Appendix A, Table 6), 55.3 percent of those with 1 to 4 years of college,

reported they had experienced work related stress. While 44.7 percent in the same category, reported experiencing no work related stress (chi-square = .55, d. f. = 2, p = .8).

Cognitive Dissonance

Table 7 through 9 present the data associated with each of the preceding dependent variables (see Appendix A, Tables 7-9). The relationship between dissonance and years worked in the media did not prove to be statistically significant. However, the data did suggest that persons who had worked 11 years or more experience somewhat more dissonance than their less experienced counterparts. Specifically, of those with 11 or more years experienced, 75 percent stated that they had experienced some dissonance caused by the work environment. However, the data show no great degree of variation in the sample of respondents. For example, of those who had worked less than 11 years, 61 percent reported that they had experienced little if any dissonance.

Table 8 (see Appendix A, Table 8) illustrates that dissonance is not related to job position. Only 24 percent reported experiencing any dissonance. Conversely, 76 percent reported experiencing little if any dissonance at all (chi-square = .42, d. f. = 1, p = .51).

In examining the relationship between dissonance and education no statistically significant relationship was found. The data in Table 9 (see Appendix A, Table 9) illustrate that 76 percent of the respondents had not experienced any cognitive dissonance ($\chi^2 = 1.07$, d. f. = 2, $p = .6$).

Normative Influences

The number of years worked, position and education were shown to be unrelated to cognitive dissonance. Tables 10 through 12 present the data associated with the variable normative influences (see p. for operationalization) and number of years worked, job-position and education and their relationship to the previous dependent variable (see Appendix A, Tables 10-12).

Table 10 (see Appendix A, Table 10) illustrates that normative influences are not related to the number of years worked in the occupation. Specifically, 84 percent are normatively influenced at their jobs. Whereas, 16 percent were not.

Table 11 (see Appendix A, Table 11) illustrates that normative influences are related to job position. Fifty-five percent of the support staff related their job position to their normative influences. Conversely, 9.5 percent of those classified as on-air personalities, writers/

columnists and editors reported that they experienced very little in the way of normative influences, therefore, rejecting the hypothesis that there is a positive relationship between normative influences and job-position. We postulated earlier that on-air personalities and persons in other higher prestige positions would experience more normative influences than those in behind-the-scenes and support personnel.

Table 12 (see Appendix A, Table 12) indicates that 84 percent of the respondents are normatively influenced. Conversely, 16 percent of the respondents stated that they were not normatively influenced. The data indicate that there is no significant relationship between normative influences and education ($\chi^2 = .83$, d. f. = 2, $p = .7$).

Qualitative Findings

The data do not generally support the hypotheses, but because several of the findings were in the anticipated direction, several in-depth interviews were administered to selected respondents in an effort to ascertain the effects of work on their lives. The results of these personal interviews will be presented in the following section (an example of a completed interview is found in Appendix D).

The findings have all shown that worker satisfaction is a variable which is influenced by a number of factors such as education, position in the organization and length of service. The literature has shown that individuals who feel as though mobility is limited are also likely to experience dissatisfaction with their job (Champoux, 1980; Quinne and Staines, 1979; Blauner, 1966). With reference to race and race related stress, the majority of the respondents in this study reported negative racial encounters. One photojournalist was quoted as saying ". . . with some of my clients and customers. . . they automatically assume that the "white boy" is producing everything and I don't know what they think I do."

Stress is a common experience among blacks in mass media. The stress is not necessarily the effect of office politics, but appears to be more related to the racism and professional "contest" that exists between black and white workers in comparable jobs. It appears that institutional racism has helped to shape the expectations of blacks in mass media. The majority of the sample had encountered both formal and informal racism and prejudice for the majority of their lives. Therefore, they entered the work force with these negative expectations. What they did not expect was the isolation and the lack of cultural identity that they encounter in the office place. The statement of

an older female respondent lends validity to the preceding statement:

There is a girl. . . who is dead today by her own hands. . . because she did what we were told to do. . . get an education. . . pay your dues. . . dress and speech. . . job readiness; coming to work on time. . . 10, 12 and 14 hours a day, only to be reminded daily by her peers and her superiors that she was yet but a 'nigger'.

The person she speaks of is Leanita McClain, a promising young black female journalist, who committed suicide on May 29, 1984. Those who knew Ms. McClain argue that she could no longer balance her career with her personal life. She could no longer cope with the pressures produced in the highly competitive atmosphere of journalism.

As indicated by Mayo (1933), group members tend to become alienated in an environment that seems cold and impersonal, letting their normative influences guide their behavior. A production assistant at one of the local stations, who wished to remain anonymous, stated "I have always been aware of racism because I grew up in a predominantly white environment." However, he added, "I did not anticipate dealing with racism once I had completed college." This respondent thinks that education can lead to lower levels of racial discrimination in the market place. This sentiment was also expressed by another respondent: "If you are not a good worker, management won't hire other blacks because they believe that the

situation would not work again. By the same token, if you are good, the next person has to be as good or better to be accepted."

The imbalance that the respondents speak of is what social scientists term alienation. To alleviate the alienation that workers experience, employees often look for fulfillment outside of the work arena (Dubin, 1956). One respondent stated, "My circle of friends are people outside the business. . . ." Argyris (1973) found that some people look for fulfillment in the form of hobbies. The majority of the respondents engaged in some type of hobby. These ranged from aerobics to making doll houses. Others set aside quiet time. As one respondent stated, ". . . that's it. Quiet time."

Many black journalists look outside the work force for support because they feel their employers have not instituted programs that allow them to "fit" in the corporate structure. As indicated in the literature, Harris and Associates (1978) found that very few blacks felt that broadcast and print media were sensitive to the needs of blacks. The data show that 77 percent of the respondents felt their employers had not instituted minority programs geared towards blacks (Grant, 1988). Several respondents commented on the fact that "they had been on their job for years and saw whites come in after

them and move up the corporate ladder, while they remained in the same lower-level position."

The literature suggests that blacks do not climb the corporate ladder because of stereotypical labels (Katz and Braly, 1933). One respondent stated, "That situation (stereotypical labeling). . . has not come about yet. . . ." On the other hand a black male stated, "Because of my stature, I am asked to do a lot of heavy lifting. . . they don't say it, but I know it's because they think all black men are big and strong." That same respondent blames his lack of advancement on the fact of stereotypical labeling.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The primary purpose of this study was to examine the problem of work related stress among black media personnel in Atlanta, Georgia. The need for the study germinated from several conversations among black media personnel in the metro Atlanta area, concerned with the high levels of stress produced by working in predominantly white environments. In concentrating on this problem, four factors surfaced. These factors are: (1) worker satisfaction (2) stress level (3) cognitive dissonance and (4) normative influences. Each of these factors was examined in relationship to job position, number of years worked and education.

Many of the results were surprising and did not support the hypotheses. We postulated that there would be a positive relationship between worker satisfaction and position. Specifically, personnel in on-air and other higher prestige positions would experience more job satisfaction than behind-the-scenes and support staff. In addition, we claimed that there would be a positive relationship between cognitive dissonance and job position.

We assumed that behind-the-scene and support personnel would experience more cognitive dissonance than those who were in on-air-slots and other higher prestige positions. Also, we argued that there would be a negative relationship between stress and job position. Personnel in behind-the-scene and support positions would experience more work related stress than those in on-air higher prestige positions. Finally, we stated that there would be a negative relationship between normative influences and position. Specifically, on-air personalities and persons in other prestigious positions would experience more normative influences than their counterparts.

The findings from this research showed there was no significant relationship between worker satisfaction and position. Although the data were in the expected direction with the majority of those in on-air positions reporting more job satisfaction than other workers. Not surprisingly, we found that a large percentage of the behind-the-scene and support staff were dissatisfied with their job. As a result of these findings, we concluded that occupational position and stress are related to one another.

In analyzing the data regarding the relationship between cognitive dissonance, education and job position,

there were no significant findings resulting in the hypotheses being rejected. However, there was a direct relationship between dissonance and years worked. Respondents who had worked 11 years or more stated that they did not experience a great degree of dissonance regarding their jobs. On the other hand, respondents who had worked ten years or less expressed that they had experienced work related cognitive dissonance. From these findings, we concluded that persons who have more experience have more control over their cognitions. From interviewing these personnel, we found that because of the time invested in their occupations they had learned to balance their internal beliefs with their actions, whereas, those with less experience found it harder to make the necessary adjustments.

The data regarding stress and position illustrated that there was no direct relationship between stress and job position. We found that persons in every position in the media experienced stress. We conclude that because mass media is an occupation that generates stress, position is not a significant factor. As one respondent stated, . . . "That the nature of the business. . . ."

Finally, normative influences revealed no direct relationship to education, job position and years worked. Because normative influences are seen as response

adjustments to feelings of inadequacy and alienation the data supports that there is no direct relationship.

The findings show that about 16 percent of the sample, responded in the same manner to several questions. We also, discovered that these were persons who had been in the "business" less than 11 years and were considered entry level personnel. Education was not a major factor with this 16 percent, all were college educated but tended to have negative feelings about there present career advancement. This is not uncommon among entry level personnel.

Implications for Future Research

Future studies in this area should be geared toward in-depth examinations of corporate "racism" as it relates to blacks in mass media. In focusing on this, we must look at the culture shock that some blacks face experience in the work place. Many young blacks entering the field are unprepared for the institutional racism, simply because they have had to deal with it all of their lives. What they do not expect, as they begin to advance in their careers are the subcultural changes they must make. Often while in job-transition, they find it very difficult to reconcile their beliefs with their actions. Often they face having to alter their personal beliefs in order to get

ahead. We must examine why blacks must deal with these obstacles when few other ethnic groups must. We must also, examine ways in which to alleviate the stress that is associated with these changes.

Because some of the findings were not in the anticipated direction a further in-depth study of a larger, more diverse population should be conducted. Specifically, a nation-wide sample should be polled for comparative analyses. In essence, we need to know whether the experiences of the Atlanta black media personnel compare significantly with the rest of the major media markets.

APPENDIX A

TABLE 1

Worker Satisfaction by Years of Work

	Years Worked			Row Total
	<u>1-5</u>	<u>6-10</u>	<u>12-22</u>	
Satisfied	9	10	15	34 68.0
Dissatisfied	6	5	5	16 32.0
Column total	15 30.0	15 30.0	20 40.0	50 100.0

Chi-square = .90 D.F. = 2 P = .63

TABLE 2

Worker Satisfaction by Job Position

	Position		Row Total
	<u>On-Air Personalities, Writer/Columnists, Assignment Editors</u>	<u>Support Staff</u>	
Satisfied	21	13	34 68.0
Dissatisfied	6	10	16 32.0
Column Total	27 54.0	23 46.0	50 100.0

Chi-square = 1.7 D.F = 1 P = .19

TABLE 3

Worker Satisfaction by Education

Job Satisfaction	Education			Row Total
	High School	College	Graduate	
Satisfied	1	26	7	34 68.0
Dissatisfied	2	12	2	16 32.0
Column Total	3 6.0	38 76.0	9 18.0	50 100.0

Chi-square = 2.0 D.F. = 2 P = .35

TABLE 4

Stress by Years Worked

Stress	Years Worked			Row Total
	1-5	6-10	11-22	
Yes	10	7	10	27 54.0
No	5	8	10	23 46.0
Column Total	15 30.0	15 30.0	20 40.0	50 100.0

Chi-square = 1.4 D.F. = 2 P = .49

TABLE 5

Stress by Job Position

Stress	Position			Row Total
	On-air personalities, Writer/Columnists, Assignment Editors		Support Staff	
Yes	17		10	27 54.0
No	10		13	23 46.0
Column Total	27 54.0		23 46.0	50 100.0

Chi-square = 1.2 D.F. = 1 P = .27

TABLE 6

Stress by Education

Stress	Education			Row Total
	High School	College	Graduate	
Yes	1	21	5	27 54.0
No	2	17	4	23 46.0
Column Total	3 6.0	38 76.0	9 18.0	50 100.0

Chi-square = .55 D.F. = 2 P = .8

TABLE 7

Cognitive Dissonance by Years Worked

		Years Worked			
		<u>1-5</u>	<u>6-10</u>	<u>11+</u>	
Dissonance	Yes	5	2	5	12 24.0
	No	10	13	15	38 76.0
Column Total		15 30.0	15 30.0	20 40.0	50 100.0

Chi-square = 1.7 D.F. = 2 P = .4

TABLE 8

Cognitive Dissonance by Job Position

		Position		
		<u>On-air Personalities, Writers/Columnists & Assignment Editors</u>	<u>Support Staff</u>	
Dissonance	Yes	5	7	12 24.0
	No	16	22	38 76.0
Column Total		27 54.0	23 46.0	50 100.0

Chi-square = .42 D.F. = 1 P = .51

Table 9

Cognitive Dissonance by Education

Dissonance	Education			Row Total
	High School	College	Graduate	
Yes	0	10	2	12 24.0
No	3	28	7	38 76.0
Column Total	3 6.0	38 76.0	9 18.0	50 100.0

Chi-square = 1.07 D.F. = 2 P = .6

TABLE 10

Normative Influences by Years Worked

Influence	Years Worked			Row Total
	1-5	6-10	11+	
Yes	13	12	17	42 84.0
No	2	3	3	8 16.0
Column Total	15 30.0	15 30.0	20 40.0	50 100.0

Chi-square = .27 D.F. = 2 P = .9

TABLE 11

Normative Influence by Job Position

Influence	Position			Row Total
	On-air Personalities, Writers/Columnists & Assignment Editors		Support Staff	
Yes	25		17	42 84.0
No	2		6	8 16.0
Column Total	27 54.0		23 46.0	50 100.0

Chi-square = 1.98 D.F. = 1 P = .16

TABLE 12

Normative Influences by Education

Influence	Education			Row Total
	High School	College	Graduate	
Yes	2	32	8	42 84.0
No	1	6	1	8 16.0
Column Total	3 6.0	38 76.0	9 18.0	50 100.0

Chi-square = .83 D.F. = 2 P = .7

APPENDIX B

The Atlanta Journal/Constitution

The Atlanta/Journal Constitution is an Atlanta based newspaper that serves the metro Atlanta area. At present the paper employs a total of 6,000 persons, with 2,344 of those being black. Of the total number of blacks employed, 229 serve in supervisory positions, there are no blacks in management.

The Atlanta Daily World

The Atlanta Daily World is a black owned newspaper founded by the Scott family, for the purpose of serving the black community. This small, but established newspaper employs 17 persons of whom all are black.

The Atlanta Voice

The Atlanta Voice is a black owned newspaper that serves the metro Atlanta area. The company employs a total of 20 people, all of whom are black.

The Atlanta Enquirer

The Atlanta Enquirer is an Atlanta based newspaper. The owner and publisher, John Smith, established the organ to enlighten the black community on community affairs. The paper has a total staff of 14 persons, of which only one person is white.

WCLK

This black owned and operated radio station is run by the Clark College Communications Department. This station specializes in jazz music. It also serves as a teaching station for black college students interested in radio broadcasting. The station employs a total of 25 people, all of whom are black.

WCNN

This predominantly white broadcast radio facility employs a total of 20 people. Only 2 persons are black and neither of the 2 blacks is in management.

WGST

WGST Radio prides itself on being the news station of the city. They employ a total of 90 people, of those, there are 11 blacks. Of the 11 blacks employed, 2 are in management.

KISS 104

KISS 104 is an FM broadcast facility which serves the black community in the metro-Atlanta area. The company employs a total of 30 people. Of that total, 20 are black and of these 20, 2 serve in a management capacity.

WXIA

This station which is owned by the Gannett Broadcasting Group prides itself on its minority involvement. The station which employs a total of 299 people, has only 42 blacks in employment. Of those 42 blacks, 3 serve in a management capacity.

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE OF MEDIA PERSONNEL ATTITUDES AND WORK EXPERIENCES

The interview opens with the following statement: I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HOW YOUR JOURNALISM CAREER AFFECTS YOU IN TERMS OF STRESS AND EMPLOYMENT SATISFACTION.

1. How many years have you worked in the field of journalism? _____
2. What position do you currently hold?

3. Are you satisfied with your present occupation?
(Circle one)
A. yes
B. no
4. Have you encountered any problems which you consider to be race related? (Circle one)
A. yes
B. no

If yes, could you please list them.

5. Do you have any hobbies? (If yes, list).

How many hours do you spend pursuing your hobbies?
_____ hours per week.

6. Do you have any close friends at work? (Circle one)
A. yes
B. no

If yes, do these friends make the job less stressful?

- A. yes
B. no

7. Do you often regret having to come to work?
A. yes
B. no

If yes, why?

8. Has your employer implemented any programs geared towards career advancement for blacks and other minorities?

- A. yes
- B. no

If yes, specify: _____

9. Have you changed of your personal habits to satisfy management? (Examples: hair, clothing, etc.)

10. Do you find yourself doing whatever is necessary to please your employer, including compromising your values? (Circle one)

- A. yes
- B. no

11. Have you ever considered leaving the field of journalism? (Circle one)

- A. yes
- B. no

12. Do you feel blacks have an equal chance for advancement in mass media? (Circle one)

- A. yes
- B. no

13. Do you ever feel you are directed to cover specific events because of your race?

- A. yes
- B. no

14. Do you ever feel you are NOT directed to cover specific events because of your race?

- A. yes
- B. no

15. Has your employer ever made you feel incompetent because of your race? (Circle one)

- A. yes
- B. no

16. Do you feel more comfortable in a predominantly black environment than you do in a predominantly white one? (Circle one)

- A. yes
- B. no

17. Do you ever feel that you are locked into a certain position because of your race?
A. yes
B. no
18. Do you feel that black women have a better chance for career advancement than black men in the field of journalism? (Circle one)
A. yes
B. no
19. In the field of journalism, do you feel that blacks are underrepresented? (Circle one)
A. yes
B. no
20. Do you think that blacks should be limited to coverage of minority issues only? (Circle one)
A. yes
B. no
21. Does your work environment influence your attitude towards your job? (Circle one)
A. yes
B. no
22. Does your attitude towards your job affect your performance at work. (Circle one)
A. yes
B. no

Explain.

23. Do you sometimes worry about work so much that you can't sleep? (Circle one)
A. yes
B. no
24. As you get older, are things (a) better, (b) worse or (c) same than you thought they would be? (Circle one)
25. Do you sometimes feel that your job is not worth the aggravation? (Circle one)
A. yes
B. no

26. Are you as happy as you were when you first started working here? (Circle one)
A. yes
B. no
27. Do you have a lot to worry about? (Circle one)
A. yes
B. no
28. Are you afraid of losing your current job? (Circle one)
A. yes
B. no
29. Do you get angry more now than you use to? (Circle one)
A. yes
B. no
30. Is life hard for you most of the time? (Circle one)
A. yes
B. no
31. How satisfied are you with your life today? (Circle one)
A. yes
B. no
32. Do you get upset easily at matters involving work? (Circle one)
A. yes
B. no
33. Do you believe that: (Circle one)
A. many of the unhappy things in people's lives are due to bad luck, or
B. they are due to each person's own mistakes?
34. Do you think: (Circle one)
A. the major reason we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics, or
B. we will have wars no matter how hard people try to stop them?

35. Do you think that: (Circle one)
- A. in the long run, people get the respect they deserve in this world, or
 - B. individual is often unrecognized no matter how hard the person tries?
36. In your own life, have you found that: (Circle one)
- A. what is going to happen, will happen no matter what you do, or
 - B. it is better to go on making your own decisions and taking a definite course of action?
37. When you make plans: (Circle one)
- A. are you usually certain that you make them work, or
 - B. there is some good in everybody?
38. Do you feel that: (Circle one)
- A. you have a lot of influence over the things that happen to you, or
 - B. that chance or luck plays an important role in your life?
39. Do you believe that: (Circle one)
- A. people are lonely because they don't try to be friendly, or
 - B. there is little use in trying hard to please people, if they like you, they will like you, no matter what you do?
40. Do you feel that: (Circle one)
- A. what happens to you is your own doing, or
 - B. sometimes that you have very little control over the direction your life is taking?
41. Do you feel that: (Circle one)
- A. with enough effort, we can wipe out political corruption, or
 - B. it is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do?

42. What is your highest level of education? (Circle one)

8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

43. What is your age? _____

THANK YOU

APPENDIX D
SAMPLE COPY OF QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW

- Q. What is your title at Channel 11?
- A. My title is managing editor. What that means specifically is managing the assignment desk and its overall planning.
- Q. Being that you are one of the few blacks here at the station in a management capacity, what do you perceive your role as a black female manager in a department such as news?
- A. That is difficult for me to answer. Any time you are a pioneer or a trail blazer, you never know who you are a role model for unless that information is brought to you. Certainly, the position in and of itself makes you an example and not necessarily a role model. I think that it is an example and often a responsibility what you do, blazing that trail as a pioneer will depend a lot on what happens after you are gone. For instance, if you are the first black reporter at a station the excuse that is given many times is that we tried it once and it didn't work out. Or, on the flip side of that is, that you did so well that everyone who comes behind you is measured against the standard that you had set. It is an example, I don't know about being a role model.
- Q. What are some of the negative racial experiences that you have had to deal with?
- A. They are very subtle, but there are some that are overt. I recall earlier on when I was "cub" reporter for a television station, at a time when there just weren't any in and a time when there were no more in this particular town, my hometown, people would go automatically to my male caucasian photographer rather than come to me, the black female reporter. That kind of slight.

Difficulties with people wanting to do what you ask them to do when you are in a supervisory capacity. The subtleness, if you will, although it translates into the overt, of being excluded in some key decisions that are made. Being told about decisions after the fact, as a way of including you, when you should have been included right front, along with other managers. I'm speaking of management positions now. That kind of thing and it is a daily occurrence, is not something that I can isolate and say that it happened this time. It's something you learn somehow to deal with.

- Q. Do you find that in the different positions you held you have been stereotypically labeled because of your race?
- A. No, not personally. I was raised to believe and my experience has also taught me that in order to be there, just to be there, you've got to be exceptional. You've got to be twice as good, in order to be considered average. It's a strange phenomenon you are there obviously because you have paid your dues. Again that makes you exceptional, you are considered different, you are not the norm of black people, that is the mindset. But, at the same time, you are still black and the mindset translates into one by the masses, that you are here because of the quota system or because of affirmative action and still considered average or below average.
- Q. Do you find yourself feeling as if you are a token in a predominantly white male environment?
- A. No. While I may be, it goes back to the same answer I gave you before. I know and keep first and foremost in my mind that you are a token, if you allow yourself to believe that you are. And again, uppermost in my mind is that I have paid my dues, I have the experience, I have the credentials, I deserve to be where I am, I deserve to be further than I am, and I'm not going to allow anyone to make me feel second class. Now, could I be here because I am a token? I don't know, that is something someone else has to answer. It could be, but I don't feel that way.
- Q. Do you ever find yourself compromising your internal values to suit management?

A. No.

Q. Why?

A. Because my personal corrections will not be prostituted by anyone. Does that mean that there are things that I know I can not do? Yes. Do I make my feelings known? Yes, but I will not prostitute my convictions in terms of lying or backstabbing. Those are my personal convictions that I will not violate for anyone.

Q. Do you find yourself changing your external self to suit management?

A. No. The way I talk is the way I was taught to speak. The way I dress is a product of my environment. It happens to mesh with the majority because that has been my field of experience, that's been my socialization. So there's been no need to change anything, you know, that external thing. As far as hair is concerned, there was a time when I wore an afro and I wore my afro?

Q. How did people perceive that when you wore your afro. Were you more or less accepted wearing your afro, as opposed to, wearing your hair straight now?

A. Interesting phenomenon. I'd walk into a store. I'd walk into the newsroom. I had this big humungous afro and initially you could see the defense mechanism going into gear, but when I began to speak and my person and my demeanor (asserted itself) then you could also see the veil dropping somewhat. So, initially that first impression was one of a black militant, but once they got beyond that to the person, they didn't have a problem with it anymore.

Q. Do you find yourself experiencing a lot of stress in this business?

A. Absolutely.

Q. What kinds of things?

A. Some if it is just the nature of the beast. The nature of the assignment desk activities. It's a very stressful position in that you are the first to be blamed and the last one to get any credit. The noise level is tremendous. You are pulled in several

different directions at the same time. And, you really have to be on top of things, you really do, so there's that element the job itself. It goes with the territory.

The second, sub-level is the little innuendos, the little bigotry that you see, those kinds of things that creep into it. That's an additional stress level. But, first and foremost it's the job itself, the other personal interaction the negatives there are also a stress level.

- Q. What are some of your coping mechanisms for the stress that you encounter.
- A. First and foremost, I take quite time and it may be no more than 20 to 30 minutes, but I give myself quite time daily. I am very spiritual and my belief in the supreme being sustains me through it all. I know that sounds hokey, perhaps, but that's where I draw my strength, from the man upstairs. And, secondly, what I do for myself, that quiet time. Also, I have other little hobbies that I don't have the time to spend with as I would like to. I love music, quiet time is driving home from work listening to CLK jazz or the PEACH--quiet time, reflective time.
- Q. By you being a pioneer in the field of journalism and by you seeing other young blacks coming in and sometimes having to deal with the same things you dealt with 19 years ago, how do you think the system could be changed, I guess, to alleviate some of the stress and other things that go with the job?
- A. Gosh, that's a difficult question, because I work hard daily at not being jaded and not having to project negativism all the time because that is very, very, easy to do. And, for younger people coming through, I try to share the benefit of my knowledge first and not so much the negative experiences, but that is a part of it too. It's not something that I would try to hide from a younger person, but I would not want to emphasize that because it is a negative and you soon learn if you all observe it, where the problems lie without someone else telling you. It's something that you need to experience yourself.
- Q. Do you ever feel alienated in your job, feel like you are alone?

- A. Yes, it's a double whammy. One of the things that recent studies have shown is that women first and I as a female don't have a chance to network as effectively as men because we don't belong to the good old boys clubs, we don't belong to the country club, we don't go drinking with them, that kind of thing. And then secondly, there's the aspect of race, which is also exculsionary, so you don't feel apart because you are not apart. You know the old saying "Birds of a feather flock together." So you are somewhat alienated and you are somewhat alone because you are "management," friendships and alliances that you might form in a job situation you are reluctant to because you still need that gap, if you will, between management and people that you supervise. You don't want to get too familiar. So there's the female, there's the race, the position structure pecking order all of those things come into play, which does tend to isolate not necessarily alienate, but isolate.
- Q. Does that isolation/alienation carry over into your personal life?
- A. No, no, my circle of friends are people outside the business. You don't necessarily have any real working knowledge of what my job is about, but my friends are not my friends because of my position. They are my friends because I am who I am and for some reason, socially we strike a responsive chord. But my friends over the years, have been friends pretty much outside of the business in different fields of experience.
- Q. You mentioned earlier that you have limited friendships here at your job. The friends that you do have, the people you might feel closest with here at work, do they eliminate or alleviate some of the pressure and some of the isolation that is sometimes encountered with your position?
- A. Yes, here's a commaraderie, one out of a cultural base and commanality that allows you to share a special joke, a special word, a special look that even though you don't necessarily socialize with them to the extent of going out together and that sort of thing, there is a special feeling and closeness and warmness, that you just kind of know is there. It's a nonverbal connection and it's a spiritual connection.

- Q. Are you more comfortable working in a predominantly white environment as opposed to a predominantly black one?
- A. Having done both, I have to honestly say again, because of my particular socialization, the way I was brought up, school neighborhood and that sort of thing that I am very comfortable, either way. Obviously, I am more comfortable with blacks because I don't have to second guess myself. Politically yes, but socially and culturally, the aspect of race is removed and that's very obvious. So which race am I more comfortable with? Obviously, my own, blacks. But do I have any difficulty in a white environment? No, I am not the least bit uncomfortable. Sometimes I have to stop and say to myself, "My God there is not another black person in this room," but most of the time I am not dealing with that.
- Q. I remember a story you told me about the response you received when you walked into a room that was filled with your fellow white co-workers. Can you explain their reactions?
- A. I was surprised by a couple of my co-workers, but not shocked, because I am keenly aware of that kind of thing having experienced it as a child on up through the years. But, it did not bother me to be the only black person there. There were community people and people that I worked with. That didn't bother me at all. I didn't feel necessarily out of place, the people were very friendly and quite charming as a matter of fact. But a couple of the people I worked with, it's okay that I work with you I really don't have any choice but then outside that arena when I am put into a quasi-social setting, then they didn't quite know how to handle that, as to what they should say as to what they should do. I would imagine that had there been more black people there, a truly mixed situation, that they would have not reacted to me the way that they did.
- Q. Why.
- A. I don't know, they were truly with their own and there was no need to front acceptance.

- Q. Why was there no need for them to front acceptance?
- A. This is strictly again quasi-social.
- Q. Because you were in a social setting and not the work environment, they felt they did not have to acknowledge your presence?
- A. Exactly.
- Q. How did it make you feel?
- A. I wasn't hurt. You know how so much happens that you begin to insulate your self against things, you build up this little tough hide. Like a turtle you withdraw, the shell is there it happens so many times that it rolls off you, but it registers. You know you put it in the old computer up there and you switch and think differently of this person and I do think differently of these two individuals than I did before. There was always something there but I couldn't quite put my finger on it, now I know that the real deal is and I move on from there. That's their problem.
- Q. When do you experience the most dissonance?
- A. When at the moment it occurs, my basic personality tends to be take charge, let's do it, can do, could be translated into bossy, I just tend to be that kind of personality.
- Q. Do you find that your attitude towards your job affects your behavior.
- A. Definitely.
- Q. In what ways, positively or negatively?
- A. Negative.
- Q. How?
- A. Because again as I told you earlier, I have to work at keeping a positive attitude in the face of so many negatives. I am faced daily with frontal assaults and I have to consciously say to myself don't let it get you down. Twenty years ago I would have told someone what I thought about them because maybe twenty, twenty-five years ago I didn't have a mortgage to pay and

children to raise and furniture bills and a car note and that sort of thing, which gives you more freedom to tell someone to take a hike. Today it's a different agenda, I've got a different agenda, I guess that's what maturing is all about. The added responsibilities, I've got a couple of kids who look to me because each time one of those racist kind of incidents occurs it takes a little bit away from you, from your humanness.

- Q. What do you perceive to be the cure for the dilemma of blacks in the media? How do you alleviate some of the pathology if not all of it? Is there a cure at all?
- A. Only the strong human beings will survive. There is a girl in Chicago who is dead today by her own hands because she did what we were told to do, which is get an education. She did what we were told to do, which is to pay your dues and to take the grunt low paying jobs. She did what she was supposed to do in terms of dress and speech. She did what she was supposed to do in terms of job readiness, coming to work on time, putting in 10 and 12 and 14 hours a day, only to be reminded daily by her peers and her superiors that she was yet but a nigger. And, when I say only the strong will survive, I mean exactly that. If you as an individual don't have the coping mechanism to survive you won't.

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